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INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS GROUP

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The International Week

Despite the new Dutch plan for prompt establishment of a sovereign Indonesian government, Republican opposition indicates the dispute will be tossed back to the Security Council. Secretary General Lie has hailed the Egyptian-Israeli armistice as a triumph for the UN. Nepal's application for UN membership faces a probable Soviet veto on grounds of British domination. The Western European press has accorded an increasingly favorable reception to the proposed Atlantic Pact, counteracting earlier fears of a US desire to water down its commitments. In a counterattack in ECOSOC, the USSR proposed creation of an international commission of trade union members to investigate forced labor conditions throughout the world.

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Tripolitanian issue again critical. With the second part of the 1948 General Assembly only a month away, the US, UK and France are again seeking tripartite agreement on the Italian colonies, particularly Tripolitania. France still favors restoration of Tripolitania to Italy, with the French receiving the Fezzan. The British, although apparently coming reluctantly around to this position, question Italian ability to control the colony in the face of a hostile Arab population. Consequently they have again proposed US trusteeship as an alternative, preferring US forces next door to their Cyrenaican bases. France in turn might object to US or UK trusteeship as representing the very type of colonial policy which the French fear to see adjacent to restive French North Africa. Italy probably would eventually acquiesce in a US trusteeship as preferable to that of any other non-Italian power, but is still pressing strongly for return of the colony. As the GA session approaches, the US will be under increasing pressure from Italy and its supporters. The Tripolitaniens themselves reportedly prefer a US or UK trusteeship if independence is impossible. Local Arab chieftains, however, seeing the handwriting on the wall, have recently hinted at making a "deal" with Italy should Italian return appear likely. From this welter of conflicting interests it appears that, barring US agreement to a trusteeship, return of Tripolitania to Italy is the solution most likely to obtain three-power support. The question of Italian adherence to the Atlantic Pact, which will probably arise at this time, will underline the desirability of at least partially satisfying Italy's colonial demands.

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A tripartite agreement will not, however, solve the remaining problem of securing GA approval. Numerous proposals ranging from multiple trusteeship to immediate independence will be advanced by the USSR, the Arab states and other anti-colonial powers. The Soviet Union will revive its proposal for direct UN trusteeships with a seven-nation advisory council (including the USSR) for all three colonies or may, if strong sentiment appears, back independence. Nevertheless, in view of hardening GA sentiment behind the Western Powers, the US and UK could, with the support of most Western European and Latin American states and the British dominions, probably enlist enough additional votes to secure the required two-thirds majority for returning Tripolitania to Italy. Inclusion of appropriate safeguards for the native population and a proviso for eventual independence would help to placate the local population and the anti-colonial powers. Should UN agreement to any solution prove unlikely, however, the present US proposal for postponing decision on Tripolitania until the next regular GA would have substantial appeal.

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Further SC action on Indonesia impending. With the liberated Republicans determinedly opposed to negotiating with the Dutch until restored to authority in Jogjakarta and with the Dutch stubbornly opposed to such restoration, the resultant impasse is likely to bring the Indonesian dispute again before the Security Council. The Netherlands firmly maintains that restoration would mark the return to chaos, the end of law and order gained by the recent "police action." Republican leaders hold, however, that only by returning to Jogja can they convince guerrilla fighting units that they speak with authority and not as puppets acting under duress.

Since the Republican position is based on the 28 January SC resolution, the Dutch will find themselves in conflict with the SC terms. This conflict will be made particularly clear when, in its 1 March report, the UN Commission for Indonesia reveals that no progress has been made toward the establishment of an interim federal government on 15 March. Pressure from the Asiatic states will compel the SC to take a firm stand backing the substance of its January resolution -- a position already strongly advocated by the US and UK. To this end, all parties except the Netherlands insist that the character of the Republic as a negotiating entity must be restored. The Council will doubtless instruct UNCI to seek a solution resolving the impasse and then amend its timetable to permit the delay. Although The Hague refuses to alter its anti-restoration position, there have been indications that the Netherlands would be attentive to any "ingenious proposal" which would break the deadlock and permit activation of the new Dutch plan.

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Remaining Palestine problems. While an Arab-Jewish armistice is in process of arrangement, several thorny problems still bar the road to a permanent Palestine peace. First, the Arab states are pressing for the

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right of approximately three quarters of a million Arab refugees to return to their homes in Israel and insist on some amelioration of this critical situation as a necessary prerequisite to other negotiations. There is, however, no likelihood of Israel's taking back more than a handful, because the Israelis feel that the flight of the Arab elements has providentially solved an otherwise dangerous minority problem and has cleared the way for colonizing Israeli immigrants in former Arab areas. Thus the maximum Israeli contribution to the solution of this problem would be little more than a token gesture. On the other hand, the Arab states are wholly unprepared economically to assume this new burden, thus a generously financed resettlement project will be essential. Second, the Arab states place no faith in any Israeli engagement to abide by any peace terms longer than would suit their interest. Without much more faith in UN power to restrain Israel, they will strive for an outside US-UK guarantee. Some such guarantee, perhaps through the UN but with strong US-UK backing, may be essential to reassure the Arab states against the future menace of Israel and so permit them to cooperate with the new state. Third, both Arabs and the Jews oppose the GA recommendation that Jerusalem be internationalized, preferring that the city be split between them. It may be possible to compromise this issue by providing international control of a very small enclave comprising the holy places. Finally, the disparity between prevalent living standards in Israel and in the adjacent Arab states represents a long term disruptive factor in the Near East. A long term program designed to raise the economic level of Arab populations appears necessary to remedy this situation. Only through a satisfactory solution of these issues which the UN Conciliation Commission will be compelled to face, can lasting peace be brought about in Palestine.

✓ Soviet objectives at Radio Conference. The deadlock between the US and USSR at the Mexico City High Frequency Broadcast Conference illustrates Soviet utilization of technical conferences to achieve political ends. The USSR proposes allocation of frequency hours on the basis of area, population and the number of official languages. In view of the huge area and population of Russia, to say nothing of China, adoption of this formula would make Communist propaganda programs as ubiquitous as the American soap opera. If the US continues to advocate adoption of an overall plan for frequency allocations, it faces the unhappy choice of either making concessions which would materially strengthen the Soviet propaganda machine or precipitating the withdrawal of the Soviet bloc delegations. Breakup of the Conference would seriously endanger the whole structure of international cooperation in telecommunications formulated in the Atlantic City Convention. Further it would threaten chaotic transmission conditions in areas within range of both Soviet and non-Soviet transmitters.

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✓ Soviet slave labor proposal in ECOSOC. The USSR has submitted a resolution to the Economic and Social Council proposing an international commission to investigate labor conditions under all systems of government. The Commission would comprise over one hundred members, appointed on the basis of one representative for each million trade union members in the USSR, US, UK, France, Italy, China, Germany, India, Japan and other nations. If made up on this basis, the Commission would be sure to have a strong Communist majority tightly controlled by the Kremlin and thus would be completely unacceptable to the Western nations. This proposal is undoubtedly a USSR propaganda maneuver to counteract the recent US move to investigate Soviet slave labor conditions.

✓ Factors in delay on dismantling. Initiation of US-UK-French discussions on German dismantling awaits agreement on whether or not to link them to consideration of prohibited and restricted industries. US objections to simultaneous discussion stem from unwillingness further to delay dismantling by tying it to the more complex question of curbs on industries. The British desire to link the two issues apparently proceeds from fear that once dismantling has been settled separately, waning US interest in prohibited and restricted industries would allow the latter problem to become a rankling issue between Britain, France and a future German government. British apprehension probably centers about (1) the solidification and strengthening of German resistance to industrial curtailments resulting from postponing the issue until formation of a West German government and (2) the emergence of strong competition with British industries unless a brake is applied to certain German industries.

Role of the ICEM. The current Brussels meeting of the International Council of the European Movement illustrates the growing Western European sentiment for closer intra-European political and economic integration than has yet been achieved on a governmental level. ICEM's new program calls for integration of Western European heavy industry, establishment of a broad-based European Assembly, admission of Germany into any European organization and, reportedly, also a European Court of Human Rights. The ICEM, which includes such prominent official and unofficial personages as Churchill, Blum, Spaak, Sforza and Leon Jouhaux, is a far more potent organization than any which existed between the two world wars. It is blazing a trail of public opinion which the Western European governments, especially the UK, somewhat reluctantly follow. It was ICEM's predecessor, the Congress of Europe at The Hague, which proposed the European Council later approved in principle by the Brussels Pact Powers. ICEM's continuing activities will serve as a dynamic force toward greater European unity and will prod the Council of Europe into taking more far-reaching measures than it otherwise would undertake.

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Mushrooming of regional security plans. The development of the proposed Atlantic Pact is leading to discussion of counterpart regional defense arrangements in other areas. The Eastern Mediterranean countries favor a Mediterranean pact, Australia has suggested a South Pacific pact and alternatively, one may be proposed for Southeast Asia. In part, these developments result from recognition of the necessity for regional defense arrangements if adequate security is to be achieved. An equal consideration, however, is the fear of these areas that US adherence to an Atlantic Pact will lead to a slackening of US interest in other parts of the globe and a channelling of available US aid to Western Europe to the exclusion of other regions. Each of the proposed regional groupings would probably seek US adherence and a US military aid program similar to that proposed for Western Europe. Such developments will magnify the US problem of bolstering local defense arrangements throughout the world without excessive dispersal of available resources.

Satellites to be assigned greater role in reorganized WFTU. The vigorous and thoroughgoing overhauling of WFTU machinery undertaken by its Communist leadership since the withdrawal of the major Western trade unions will probably result in assignment of a greater role to the Satellite powers, particularly Czechoslovakia, and increased WFTU participation in the UN and international labor training programs.

WFTU Secretary General Saillant has apparently decided to: (1) appoint a prominent Czech trade unionist to one of the Executive Bureau seats vacated by the Western secessionists; (2) "decentralize" the WFTU trade departments (professional workers) by locating their headquarters in strategic industrial centers; (3) use Czech radio broadcasting facilities for WFTU propaganda; and (4) include Czech and perhaps other Satellite representatives in the reconstituted WFTU Secretariat. Under the proposed "decentralization," the Federation contemplates establishing headquarters for the International Leather Workers in Praha, for the Metal Workers in Turin, for the Miners in Belgium and for the Textile Workers in France. These moves may represent an attempt to refute repeated Western trade union charges of Soviet domination of WFTU organs.

WFTU determination to increase its activity in the UN is currently reflected in the appearance at ECOSOC sessions of a strong WFTU delegation headed by Saillant, who vociferously insists that WFTU be consulted in any UN inquiry on slave labor. This delegation can be expected to give active support to the Soviet representative's proposal for a UN "investigation of labor conditions under all systems" -- an investigation in which all the national labor organizations formerly united in WFTU would be represented. This reinforced Soviet interest in ECOSOC as a forum for international labor discussions may reflect Soviet conviction that the withdrawal of the Western elements from WFTU will make ECOSOC the logical meeting-ground for Eastern and Western labor.

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Soviet withdrawal from WHO influenced by inability to obtain supplies.
Poland's proposal to convert the UN World Health Organization into a supply agency reflects what may have been a major consideration inducing the recent withdrawal of the USSR. Soviet non-participation in the work of the Organization's technical commissions during the past year apparently reflected not only the USSR's fear of losing some of its medical technicians and scientists, but also recognition that it would be unable to milk WHO for medical supplies required within the Soviet Union. Since the Kremlin has not yet responded to the UN appeal for reconsideration of Soviet withdrawal, the USSR may be dangling the Polish proposal before WHO as the price of reconsideration. This strategy, however, is not likely to succeed since the WHO Executive Board, conscious of strong US opposition to using the Organization for this purpose, will probably reject the proposal. The Board will take this action with full knowledge that rejection may cause the withdrawal of the remaining Eastern European members, except possibly Yugoslavia whose representative is currently president of the Organization.

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